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824 The same may be said of vegetation. Take a tree, for example. What one really sees is not the tree itself but its shadow or outward expression only. The wood and leaves, that is to say the material parts alone, are to be seen with the material part of man, namely his eyes. The tree itself, that is to say the life, spirit or genius of the tree, is hidden under its shadow. The trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit are but expressions—manifestations—of the tree spirit which is the real substance.

827 It is the same with inorganic things. Inorganic objects are supposed to have life. The outward material parts may decay, but the real thing, *i.e.* the life, merely changes its conditions and manifests itself in and by something else, a demon, for instance, taking the form of disease or some kind of animal, fish, bird or mineral. No life can ever be lost and it must ever manifest itself in something else somehow and somewhere.

829 776 It may be said with manifest truth that it is a fundamental doctrine among this people that God is the macrocosm and man the microcosm. Where we would naturally say that man is quite anthropomorphic in his ideas about God, the Ainu would say no, not so, man is theomorphic in his make up. Man, who is spirit, is endowed with the attributes of the gods. And so it happens that sometimes in prayer I have heard old men place themselves on a level with the gods and undertake to give them a sound scolding for not having answered favourably certain requests they have made them. And I have heard people threaten that they would not offer them any more libations of whisky or make any more fetishes for their honour unless they repented. I have also heard them address departed ancestors and friends in the same way.

776 The Ainu invest their gods with bodies, parts, and passions like their own. The bodies of the gods are shaped like those of men, but are built up of finer or

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for a short time during the coldest part of the year. There can be no doubt that these houses were very unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus*, *Miq*. This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these people. "In very ancient times a race of people who dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE BIRTH TREE AND CUSTOMS AT CHILDBIRTH

Among this people the willow tree is of great importance, for, as has already been pointed out, the backbone of original man is said to have been formed out of it. The life of man is supposed to have its seat in it rather than in the blood, as many other races believe. One is not surprised, therefore, to find that this tree is much used in making certain kinds of fetishes and regarded as a sort of individual "birth tree." Among the Aryan peoples, Roman and Teuton, it was believed that a person's fate and life were mystically involved with that of his "birth tree," i.e. a tree planted at his birth; and that his life depended on and terminated with that of the tree, the man growing or withering as his tree grew or withered. Something of the same idea is involved in a certain willow fetish which is made for an Ainu child when born.

As soon as a child has come into the world, the father, or, as a rule, the grandfather, will go to the bank of a river, where he will seat himself upon the ground and pray to his gods. That done, he will cut a nice green stick of willow about a foot in length. This he will reverently bring home and, sitting down by the hearth, whittle into a fetish. When finished, he will worship it devoutly, offer prayers to the Goddess of Fire, and then, carefully taking it in both hands, carry it to the sleeping place and set it up there as the tutelary god of the new baby.

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Such is the folklore given me on this matter by my friend, and from it we conclude that the willow is the special individual tree totem of every Ainu born in Hokkaidō. As might well be expected, this fetish is particularly worshipped in times of sickness, by the individual for whom it was made. The following is a prayer taught to children for their use on such an occasion:

"O thou willow god, as thou art my spine—my very backbone—do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou dear deity, I am ill, and my body has become weak; pray help me soon."

If this little prayer be said often and devoutly, it is supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from his malady. The auto-suggestion which is so necessary for a healing is thereby produced, and that is more than half the battle.

So, too, when an older person falls sick, the elders meet together and make fetishes of this tree for him. After these have been duly worshipped, they are taken out of doors and carried to the sacred place at the east end of the house and there set up among what are called the *nusa*. These *nusa* form a big cluster of fetishes, old and new. Some are but a few inches high and others six feet or even more in length. The length is got by tying them to poles which are called "legs." Among them may be seen the skulls of animals killed in hunting or for sacrifice. In Saghalien I once saw one or two round hoops set up on high among them, and was told that these represented offerings to the sun.

The magical influence of these things is supposed to be very great. It always struck me as being a very weird and mysterious custom to stick such things up and to consider them, both fetishes and place, as sacred. If, after being set up, any of the sticks strike root and grow, it is supposed to be a good sign. It shows that the person on whose behalf they were made

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Old Man. "Yes, indeed! That is just the point. Vines are divine beings. They are living gods. They are full of life and flexibility. Whether it be winter or summer, they are always lithe and pliable. This is the reason I wear parts of these deities in my ears. They are my preservers and helpers."

Self. "Indeed! How can this be? Where is the virtue? What kind of good can they do you? Do you think they have done or are doing you any good now? Do you feel any better for them?"

Old Man. "Oh, don't you know? Of course they help me. How can I doubt it? They are gods. They keep me going. By wearing them I get my portion of flexibility and am thus as lithe as you see me now. Having them in my ears, I feel and know that these divine properties are being imparted to me through them."

Poor old fellow! Sitting there in the silent forest on that log, listening to the recitation of his faith, I felt hushed. Such was his creed on this point, and he was acting upon it.

"But," returned I, "whatever makes you, my elder brother, think those vines are divine? I should like to learn from you. Please teach me." I then got the following old lore from him, and was edified:

539 "In the beginning grape and actinidia vines were in Heaven, in the Kingdom of the Gods. In that place only golden, silver and bronze trees grow. Now, when the Divine One came down from above to Ainu-land, he found that God had made many things to grow out of the earth, but he had quite forgotten to plant any actinidia and grape vines. So the Divine One returned to Heaven and brought down one silver and one golden actinidia, and also one bronze grape vine. The grape was taken from a vine clinging to a bronze tree and the silver actinidia from a vine twisted round a tree of silver. And thus it is that there are now

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the demon had gone away, Yairespo said to me, 'Boy, flee towards thy home as quickly as thou possibly canst. As thou passest the headland of this island, go ashore and cut one piece of alder wood and another of birch. With them whittle the fetishes and stick them on thy boat. Then make another fetish out of the tree called *sito-ni* which is the particular magic tree of the wicked demon-god. And all will be well. From the days of my early childhood thy grandfather and I have been very close friends. This is the reason I have made known to thee the great danger thou hast run into by coming here. When thou passest through the midst of the sea on the journey homeward, thou wilt surely hear behind thee a great noise of gods fighting. When a little shower shall fall upon the boat, know thou that I shall then have been wounded. Again, as thou goest farther away from this place and art getting nearer to thy home, rain will descend upon thy boat from above. When this happens, know thou that I shall have slain that very wicked demon-god. Thy grandfather is much concerned about thee, as thou hast been absent so long, being in this direction. Yea, he is much disquieted about thee. He has departed from his house and now, behold, he stands at the very end of the path nearest the sea and is looking hitherwards. Knowing that I dwell on this island, he is looking up to Heaven praying, with his thoughts to me-ward, seeking my help for thee.' So spake he.

"I saw my grandfather's prayers standing in the clouds above like a rainbow. Their influence—their efficacy—stretched over the sea, from one end to the other, for my good. For me did his prayers wend their way.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PINE-MARTEN, ADONIS, AND SKYLARK

Among the wild flowers of Hokkaidō, the Adonis is regarded by the Ainu as one of the prettiest, if not indeed the prettiest of all. According to them, its beauty is accounted for by the fact that it is supposed to have once been a goddess—the daughter of one of the deities who are said to have the rule in the skies next to this earth. The pine-marten also, which is a very important little animal, is thought to have had his origin in Heaven.

The adonis is, without doubt, a very beautiful flower. It is of a bright yellow colour and blooms before the green leaf appears. It is a real harbinger of spring, joy, and warm weather. It is the very first flower to blossom here in Hokkaidō, and may sometimes be seen in secluded spots, where it is sheltered from the wind, even before the snow is all melted. I have sometimes dug it up as early as the end of February, while in March it is very abundant. It is this, perhaps, which causes the people to love it so much. Indeed, they regard it with quite as much affection as the children of England do the snowdrop.

The legend regarding the first appearance of this flower in Ainu-land is well worthy of consideration, for it is both pretty and instructive in its teaching.

"The divine pine-marten is a god who in the beginning had his home in Heaven. But he came down from above and took up his abode among the Ainu. Here he stands very high indeed among the deities

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of the earth, and the people should treat him with great reverence. Now, from very ancient times there has never been another lady so beautiful in every respect as the daughter of the god who lives in the Lower Heavens. This deity one day called his daughter to him and said, 'There is no god upon the earth higher and more honourable in rank than the pine-marten. You, my daughter, must wed no other than him.' The goddess said she would obey her father, and so it was settled.

"The pine-marten, having then been notified of the arrangement, went up to Heaven to receive his bride. Upon his arrival, the young lady set to work diligently to prepare her trousseau, and when the day arrived for the marriage to be celebrated, set the houses in proper order. After all had been properly prepared and the preliminary ceremony performed, while the wedding feast was well in progress, the young goddess quietly left the house, as if to fetch something she had forgotten. But she did not return.

"After a time, the pine-marten went to look for her. He searched Heaven and earth and the sea, but it was all of no avail. By and by, he heard it rumoured that she was hiding among the grass upon the earth, and, after a further search, found her. He was very angry when he saw her, and trampling upon her with his feet in a great rage, said, 'Oh thou wretched creature, why didst thou slip away and hide thyself among the grass? As thou hast thus disobeyed thy father and run away from thy home, I will punish thee most severely. Thou mayest no more go to thy Heavenly dwelling but must live in this world only henceforth. Thou shalt now be turned into a plant.' Having thus crushed her under foot with all his might, she was changed into a flower and she was called Adonis (Kunau).

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"It is because this plant had such a high origin, having been once a goddess, that the adonis is such a beautiful plant, the most handsome flower in existence. In the beginning it truly lived in Heaven and was a goddess of great beauty. Though she was formerly lovely in every way, being a deity, yet because she fell from her high estate by disobeying the wishes of her father, she became a plant of the field. Thus was she punished. 539 824 825

"As, then, the pine-marten is known to be such a grand and noble deity, his skull must be nicely wrapped up in willow shaving when he is killed, and carefully and reverently kept as a charm. When he is freshly killed, the men must take his head and worship before it, saying, 'O thou divine pine-marten, we know that thou art a great lord; henceforth kindly bless us; keep us, and be thou our god.' If one does this in a reverential manner, this divine animal will indeed bless him and make him prosper greatly." 825

The great danger of disobeying one's parents or the gods is also made manifest in the legend of the skylark. 539 825

"In the beginning the skylark had his home in the heavens above. One day the God of heaven sent one of these little creatures down to the deities of the earth with a message, telling him to return that same day and not loiter about. But this little fellow found Ainu-land such a very nice place that he stayed and amused himself there till it became nearly dark, so that it was too late to go back that night. The next day, thinking to ascend to Heaven, he got up and flew above the earth. When he had ascended 240 feet above the ground, the true God met him and said,

"'Why was it that when I sent thee with a message and told thee to return the same day, thou didst disobey me and stay away? As thou hast done this and failed to do as I told thee, thou shalt not come up to Heaven, but must return to Ainu-land and remain

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753 and friends to meet the doctor at his house, as he had something very important to say to them. When all had come together, he asked that, as soon as he was dead, the doctor would make a postmortem examination, extract all the diseased parts from his body, show them to those present, explain the malady, and then, having chopped them up very fine, scatter the pieces to the four winds. "For," said he, "it will never do for me to go to Heaven and meet the gods and my ancestors with a diseased body. That would be disgraceful." What a contrast with the above mentioned Irish woman!

752 I am fully convinced that there was a good deal
776 more in my friend's request than appears on the sur-
824 face; for, by having his diseased parts chopped up fine and scattered to the four winds, he was in fact, seeking to be avenged on the demons of disease and accidents. This will appear evident in what is now to follow.

WOÖI; WOÖI; WOÖI; came a weird cry through the trees of the forest one afternoon, as I was walking along a path not far from a certain village. I thought it must be some people in great distress, so I made my way quickly through the brush-wood toward the sound. Presently I came upon a peculiarly strange sight. There were a score or so of Ainu men and women standing round a big tree, howling, crying, and roaring out WOÖI, WOÖI, WOÖI. The men looked very angry and fierce, and the women all had their hair dishevelled and fallen over their shoulders and faces. The men, I saw, had old swords and long knives in their hands. I stood and looked at them in great astonishment, for I had never seen the people worked up so much before.

By and by they marched round and struck hither and thither with their knives and swords, the women weeping and wailing out a death dirge. Every now

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and then would come the owl-like cry *woši, woši, woši.* And they would curse loudly. I came near them and found they were storming at the evil genii of the tree. There had been an accident. One of those present told me that a man had fallen out of the tree and been killed. The people had therefore assembled to perform a ceremony they called *Niokeush rorumbe*, i.e., "making

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war upon the demon tree." After watching for some time, I returned to my lodgings and later in the evening asked for more particular information with regard to this matter. The following lore was then given me.

"Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and be killed, or should a person cut down a tree and

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752 776 824 be killed by its fall, such a death is called 'getting harm from the tree.' Such accidents are caused by the multitude of demons inhabiting the various parts of the trunk, branches and leaves. When one has been killed thereby, the people ought to meet together, cut the tree down, chop it up into very fine pieces and scatter all to the four winds. For unless that tree be destroyed, it will always remain dangerous, and demons will continue to dwell in it. But if the tree be too large to cut up fine, let it be hacked and left there, the place being clearly marked, so that the people may not go near it."

And so, according to this and other like traditions, one is led to conclude that Mr. Arrow's desire for a postmortem operation did not arise simply because he wished to appear in heaven with a pure and healthy body, but also in part because he wanted vengeance taken on the demons of disease who killed him. In fact, he was undoubtedly seeking for purification and revenge in a thoroughly orthodox Ainu manner, and that by a post-mortem ceremony.

On a later day, I saw a ceremony performed which was called *niwen horippa*, i.e. "wild dance." It was after the death of a man from drowning. It was performed thus:

752 776 823 *Saké* was provided in abundance by the relatives of the victim, and messengers were sent to the villages near, inviting the men and women to join in the proceeding. All came, bringing their contribution of either *saké* or millet dumplings. The men all had, as is customary on such occasions, either a sword or long knife, and the women had their headgear hanging over their arms and their hair left hanging down in disorder. The men made a lot of willow fetishes and set them up about the place, said many prayers and offered libations. Then, after all had eaten well of dumplings and swallowed large amount of *saké*, they marched

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CHAPTER XLIII

ON TREE WORSHIP

824 It will be seen by many things which have been written that the worship of trees is quite a strong feature in the religion of Ainu hunters. Their theory of causation being so thoroughly animistic, it is no wonder that we find them ascribing to every kind of tree and plant a life with powers of thought and action, possessing emotion and passions like their own. And in these things we discover a subtle relation to the tree genii of the Greeks and other people. Take for example, the sacred olive of Athene at Athens, the images of deities set on trees, the association of the laurel with Apollo, the connection of Dionysus with the ivy, the Ephesian Artemis dwelling in the stem of an oak, the mistletoe of the Druids, the 'Jack-in-the-Green,' the Maypole, the Scottish milkmaid with her switch of rowan, with which she protected her cattle from evil spirits; all these and similar things are brought to one's mind here. But the Ainu appear to have some ideas on the subject peculiar to themselves. They suppose that every tree has not only its own personal chief spirit, but that the roots, stems, rugged bark, inner bark or fibre, wood, heart, knots, buds, leaves, twigs, crown and flowers, with fruit also, each are themselves peopled with innumerable spirits, some of which are good and others evil.

The general name given to this tree cult by the hunters is *kim-o-chipaskuma*, and this means, 'doctrine of the mountains'; and the particular part of it now to be treated is named *chikuni akoshiratki orushpe*, which

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824 means 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said,

824 224 782 "When those hunters who are acquainted with the cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the fetish cluster, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, 'O Thou mighty possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals. Please help us. O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper Thou us.' After this has been done they set out, fully expecting to kill many bears and deer."

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree for the time being as their tutelary god or guardian genius. I find, also, that when a person is sick, his friend will sometimes go to the forest and select what he considers to be a good tree or shrub and worship it. He fully believes that if he does this devoutly and in faith, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called [137] good trees, i.e. trees willing to help, are the willow, dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

755 When praying to any of these for the sick, prayers such as the following are said; 'O *Topochi*, thou divine wise and quick one, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shirampa*, the divine one standing upon the earth, and thou wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name and the name of thy father. Thou art the wise one and art very quick. Thou art also a mediator. In thy father's name, O wise one, yea, in the name of *Shirampa*, I ask Thee to heal him quickly." My friend added,

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"When the men go into the mountains to hunt bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great danger that they must run, and so seek a way of escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learnt at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods and demons help them."

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. But it must not be supposed that all demons are devils. The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both good and bad, and the word used bears the same significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel, and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense in which it should be understood. But this by the way. Another friend said,

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree, save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree and then go away without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of

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Thus there is no wonder that it is much thought of by the men, and some sticks taken from it and made into fetishes. 778

This tree is often met with in Ainu folklore and there is one tradition I know of, in which its occurrence has led me to think that it may possibly have been a kind of tribal totem, as the willow is the universal totem among them.

The inhabitants of Tunnai-cha, on the eastern shore of Saghalien, regard the ash-tree with special affection, and by its aid account for their clan origin. There is a tradition which tells how a pair of eagles, having taken up their abode in the top of a fine ash tree, rescued a child from destruction when the other members of the clan had all been wiped out in a massacre by their enemies. They fed the child till he was grown up and went on a voyage to another land, where he caught a young goddess who came down from Heaven with many others to dance, sing, and hear and tell stories. He brought this damsel goddess to his house under the beautiful ash tree, where the eagles, who had their home in the topmost branches, had reared him to manhood. It is a remarkable story and has already been told in full in Chapter XXVII. 824 539

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having a notch cut in the top of it, which he said was the "mouth." On the mouth of each was laid some kind of stuff which had a very disagreeable smell. Some had putrified fish, some a lump of garlic, others scrapings of albatross bill, some powdered deer horn and some a little bear's gall on them. 778

I ventured to ask my friend the meaning of all these things, and he told me they were set about as a defence against the fearful demons of epidemic disease who were then stalking about Ainu-land. He said that the sticks were representations of eagles, hawks and owls who held the putrified, smelly matter in their bills and so fought against the demons on behalf of the people. The strips cut downwards on the sticks represented the feathers of the birds, who were standing there in great wrath, ready to attack and slay any demon which should dare to appear. The killing was done by the filthy smell, for no demon would be able to endure it. Should he inhale any of it, the effect would be death. 731 778

Upon asking why elder sticks were used in preference to the usual willow, this drew forth the following piece of lore.

"Elder and not willow wood is used in making this kind of fetish, because this is an unlucky tree and poisonous. Being so, it is greatly hated by the demons of disease. If such a demon comes anywhere near it, he quickly dies. These kinds of fetishes are sometimes called 'Thick Club.' This is because they knock the demons on the head when they appear, and so slay them outright." Then my friend added, "Posts of elder are used by some to mark the graves of children, for, being brittle, this wood soon breaks, and so is a fitting symbol of a short, snapped-off life. The bigger branches are used for carrying corpses to their graves, and when done with are left there to rot." 824 778 [777]

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CHAPTER L

THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me and struck me with the greatest wonder when I visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside the east end windows of some of the huts, and the very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such things have divine honour and worship paid them, it is thought that the creatures to which they once belonged, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will come and bewitch the people who have them, for they expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their right.

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in general, he said, "When our young men are gone away to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home procure some *sakè*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish, the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship,

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492 shoulders quite out of sight. My man glided like lightning off his horse and hurriedly pulled my pony over so as to allow him to free his neck. He told me that had he not done so at once, it would have been broken. Parapita went up in my estimation a hundred per cent, and I escaped with a live horse and but a few bruises for either of us. But I must admit that the poor beast looked as much astonished as I felt.

To give a full account of all the incidents I have met with on my journeyings among the Ainu would require a volume, but I only propose at present to touch on such as are concerned with this one outing.

824 137 The Ainu are great botanists and I found Parapita's knowledge of plant names quite extensive. On hearing some of them, I was much struck by their aptness. One day on passing through a place where hawthorn trees abounded and coming into close contact with some of their thorns, I asked him what these noxious bushes were called in his language. I spoke somewhat impatiently, I am afraid, for I did not like to get either my clothes torn or limbs scratched among them. He told me they were called *Abe-ni*. This means, he said, 'tree with harpoon bait" or "decoy." This puzzled me a bit till he explained that the pomes hanging from the branches at the end of the stems very closely resemble the "baits" or "decoys" the Ainu make to draw along the bottoms of rivers behind the fish-spears used for securing some kinds of fishes, particularly pike and trout. And truly the resemblance is remarkable. The botanical name of the hawthorn is *Crataegus jozana, C.K. Sch.* [262] The pomes are black, fat, and juicy. The people eat them with great relish.

Soon we passed through big patches of very tall plants having broad leaves on the ends of hollow stems. He told me these were called in Ainu *Koroko-ni*. This turns out to be the *Petasites japonicus, Miq.* I asked my friend further about this plant and he told me that the hollow stems are called by a word which means a 'set-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

up-throat,' that is 'hollow. They are so named, he said, because they resemble the human throat, being hollow. Continuing our conversation, I got hold of a quite new and interesting phrase. It was, *iwan kut koro guru*, which, being interpreted, is "a person with six throats." When it is remembered that six is the perfect number among this race, one is not at all surprised to learn that the phrase is intended to designate "a perfect liar." I listened to this, wondered, and was much amused.

Having one evening reached a certain village, I lodged with the chief, an old friend with whom I had stayed many times before. About midnight a cat began to caterwaul atrociously just outside the reed wall, close to my head. Sleep I could not. At last, in despair, I roared out to no one in particular, "Oh, do shoot that cat!" Shortly afterwards there came a terrific 'bang' not far from my ears, just outside the hut. The poor cat had met with an accident from which it never recovered. The chief had shot it! Thenceforth I was very careful as to what orders I gave the people.

I had a plate with three artificial teeth to it. Those teeth were resting in a cup of water by my side, as it happened, in the same hut as that in which the cat incident occurred. In the morning, when I awoke, both water and teeth were gone and neither I nor my man could find them. That same afternoon the chief came up to our stopping place a few villages away, mysteriously carrying something carefully in his hand, wrapped up in a leaf. Said he, "I think this must be yours, Sir." I took the leaf and there were the missing teeth nestling inside. "Where did you get these from?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I found them close to a rat hole near where you slept last night."

At a village in which we spent the night among well-known friends, a little girl brought me a nice tray of boiled chestnuts as a present from her mother. Their jackets had been taken off, so that we were able

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Aino was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Aino into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1½ to 3
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukeri. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

286 The cloth is wound round a stick which rests on the lap of the weaver, and is kept in tension by means of her wrists; and at the same time the *Ahunkanitte* (the "shuttle"), is passed between the two sets of warp threads carrying the transverse thread, or "woof," from one side of the cloth to the other and back again. This is then beaten up by means of a long shuttle like a netting mesh, which first draws the weft into its place, and is then used to beat it up. In some ways this form of loom is similar to that of India. The "netting mesh" is

THE AHUNKANITTE.

THE PEKOATNIT.

called *Atzis-Hera*. Finally, the *Pekoatnit* is a bi-forked instrument for separating the threads.

It is needless to say that with this primitive and home-made loom it takes a very long time to weave a very short piece of cloth; but as time is not money with Ainu women, and patience is one of their virtues, it answers their purpose, and they wish for nothing better.

ATZIS-CLOTH IN PROCESS OF WEAVING.

283 [824] The thread used for manufacturing the cloth is made of the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark. At the beginning of the spring the elm bark is peeled off the trees and is put in water to soak and soften until the inner fibres can be separated, made into threads, and wound up round reeds. The material woven from these threads is very coarse and brittle, except in wet weather or when soaked in water, in which case clothes made of it cannot be worn out.

286 531 The weaving is usually plain, but sometimes a simple pattern of black parallel lines is woven in with the material. The natural colour of the elm-fibre thread is dark yellow, and the black lines are composed of the same thread stained.

000 The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 A86 Ainu A86

An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle. The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destinations. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?"

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls.

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau *"ikoytaku ainu"* ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual
774 essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the
776 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or
824 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant
114 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.
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776 With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpretation is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes,
[782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials,
104 palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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II

THE KAMUI

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IN the last chapter we discussed *kamui* in general and made special reference to the remote *kamui*—those believed to dwell in the sky. We now come to the second class of *kamui*—those regarded as accessible and trustworthy. The nominal chief of these terrestrial *kamui* is Shiramba Kamui, Upholder of the World. He is the god of vegetation, and though his *ramat* is believed to be distributed in trees which provide houses, utensils, implements and firewood, particularly oaks, it is also present in grain, herbs, vegetables and grasses, and is especially potent in the aconite (*surugu*). The possession of *ramat* is believed to endow trees and plants with feelings akin to those of men.[1] When I asked an Ainu who wished to plant a small tree in my garden whether it should have manure, he exclaimed: 'No, no, it would be too astonished.' Shiramba Kamui is especially revered as giver of the timber of

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[1] Mr Watanabe differs from Munro in certain interpretations of Ainu beliefs (see footnote re *kara*, Chapter II, p. 12). He states that the Ainu recognize the existence of a spirit in every plant, and that Shiramba Kamui is the Chief of the plants. He quotes: 'For the Ainu, trees and grass do not mean plants, at least in our sense of the word. According to the Ainu idea, beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *Kamui*-spirits, as well as trees and grass. In the country of *kamui* they take human forms and live the same mode of life as that of human beings, the Ainu. They have their families as well as villages' (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, pp. 13–14).

He adds: 'Such spirits, when visiting the Ainu country, disguise themselves and take the form of concrete objects such as trees and grass. In other words, every individual plant is nothing but an incarnation of a spirit which is invisible and believed to take a human form in its home country. In consequence, a plant itself is sometimes called by a name with such a suffix as *-kamui*, or *-fuchi*.'—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUI

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825 In the eighth class I have included certain things of unutterable horror, and of these the most noteworthy is the harmless caterpillar known as *ashtoma ikombap*. *Ashtoma* means dread, and though I cannot say that all Ainu regard it with fear and repulsion, it is widely regarded as the materialization of Moshiri-Shinnai-sam, 'world-abnormal-alongside', implying intruding aliens in Ainu-land, and arouses uncanny dread and detestation. There is no fear of caterpillars in general, and it seems possible that the Ainu have
[186] come to symbolize in this caterpillar their fear and hatred of the Japanese, by whom they were so long oppressed and treated with contempt. The Japanese are still called Shisam and Shamo or Samo, names apparently connected with Shinnai-sam.[1] It is not only the old people who feel this repulsion for the dreaded caterpillar; young and educated Ainu have told me that the sight of it causes an involuntary shiver—a feeling doubtless inculcated in childhood by the behaviour of their elders. In spite of this, I have never come across any Ainu who feared evil possession (*wen turenbe*) by *ashtoma ikombap*.

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●824 NOTE.—The following Ainu folk tale, translated by Mr Watanabe from Chiri's *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, p. 201, may be included in this chapter, as it gives some idea of the Ainu attitude to vegetation and the spirit world.—(B.Z.S.)

'You there, the chief of Ruashipet, listen to what I say. We are neither human beings nor evil deities. I remind you, I am the head of *trep* (plant) and here is the head of *pukusa* (wild garlic). In ancient times, when the deity of creation created the world, he prepared nuts, leaves, roots and the like, all over fields and hills on the surface of the world, in order to let the Ainu eat them. Nevertheless, they do not know that most of them are edible. Above all, *pukusa* and *trep* ought to be the core of human food—but no one collects them. Every year they blossom in vain and disappear on the fields and hills of the human world: but (I remind you) their souls, though crying, do go back to the land of *kamui*. I am sad that they return to earth in vain, and ardently wish to tell the Ainu that both *pukusa* and *trep* are edible things, wishing we may be worshipped as deities on that account, so that we may be eaten. I came here from the east to the Ainu country, bringing the chief of *pukusa*, while disguising ourselves as Ainu women. But human beings are so

[1] See *inu*, Chapter IX, p. 108.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

foolish, they regard our foods as dirty and do not even try to eat us. It is for that reason we got angry and came to you. But now we determine that if you do not eat of the food we offer, we will resign ourselves to do no more, but withdraw to the country of deities.'

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7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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III

THE INAU

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RAMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

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Ramat is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

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Inau have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

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7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed
778 banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quan-
[184] tities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of these embody spirits which specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise somewhat wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house possessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for
778 good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and
782 foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute, such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.[1]
[826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

[1] *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:
(*a*) Willow (*susu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.
(*b*) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.
(*c*) Dogwood (*utuha-ni*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.
(*d*) *Push-ni*.
(*e*) *Opke-ni*.
(*f*) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shikerebe-ni*), is valued for a particular purpose.
(*g*) Two kinds of oak (*tun-ni*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.
(*h*) An ash tree (*pinni*), though not much used for *inau*. For wen *inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maachia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*), and bird-cherry (*hiki-ni*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-ni*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*tahusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yuini*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalopanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

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which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

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An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

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Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one at the chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

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The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

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In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

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were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield.

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin.

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight.

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are *not* offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

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THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
[755] and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most,
[776] which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
787 Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
184 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
[782] the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
789 was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
[114] shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of protection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 776 782 796 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the [761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*. [763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 776 532 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII, fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material [824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

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inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird 776
cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still 532
sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while [824]
an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

[757]
Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make
than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from [796]
the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial [825]
death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being
reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house- 778
site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed 776
to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important 532
is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. 751
Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also
given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV,
fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance
from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu* [164]
inau kamui is said locally to be more for general protection or for
such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for
smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is
invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epi-
demic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One 778
of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult 776
childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one 532
of willow be insufficient. [824]

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because 776
it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a per-
son's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is un- 778
conscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually 755
dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other 532
shutu inau kamui, with one difference: the heart is taken not from
the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the [824]
entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the
house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the 782
hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau*
standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end
facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui*
on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the
petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

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this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

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When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later.

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west.

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble.

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody.

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for

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children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements.

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity.

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth.

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI.

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The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

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each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire, by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as difficult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly *'fusa!'* or *'fsa!'* as a signal of expulsion.

The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

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755 782 ●824 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As performed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree [778] is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi, Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'possessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 783 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women [778] at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a [824] switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword which has been hanging there in readiness.

755 783 778 On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river *uepotara*, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

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practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neuralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

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[304] [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

[773] But though tattooing (*manoko shiri woshmari*) had not within living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or [386] sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but [622] that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [554] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

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DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 [688] by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres [177] from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [531] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shiambappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-emi-ni* (*cf.* Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

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APPENDIX II

dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

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Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

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When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

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After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] [604] [602] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 [757] [824] To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the [237] [824] belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 [782] [769] [539] The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grandmothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

/765 cont./

844 778 782 789 [755] remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually consumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the [787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman). [842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth 846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 574 852 [824] [776] [782] /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire. This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with [262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors [758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/766 cont./

846 852 574 [858] not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires. They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of the household.

The Woman after Parturition.

846 262 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digestible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 757 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance, massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with [825] [823] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little bag. [824] Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] [824] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.

[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

/767 cont./

895 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.
[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/770 cont./

847 [184] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed [836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they [648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

845 847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of [842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

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226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.
227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[824] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.
349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on
piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b. It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

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226 227 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was-set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the [876] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working [462] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] [592] [824] [476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

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by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunting was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by the Ainu are given[39].

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eha	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Mukl	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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	Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
3.	Pukusa	Allium victorialis	Shady woods	Young leaves
4.	Korokoni	Petasites japonicus	Common	Young stalks
5.	Soroma	Osmunda cinnamonea	Wet places	Folded leaves
6.	Shikerepekina	Spathyema foetida	Wet places	Young leaves
7.	Pukusakina	Anemone flaccida	Half-shaded woods	Young leaves
8.	Tuwa	Pteridium aquilinum	Open or half-shaded places	Folded leaves
9.	Ukurukina	Hosta japonica	Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places	Young stalks
10.	Trep	Cardiocrinum Glehni	Shady woods	Bulbs
11.	Pui	Caltha Barthei	Open stream-side	Young leaves and stalks
12.	Ninum or niseu	Juglans manshurica	Terrace along streams	Nuts
13.	Shikerupeni	Phellodendron amurense	Deciduous woods	Fruit
14.	Hat	Vitis Coignetiae	Woods	Berries
15.	Kutchi	Actinida arguta	Woods	Berries
16.	Setara	Malus baccata	Sunny places	Fruit
17.	Shiuri	Prunus Ssiori	Woods	Fruit
18.	Komni	Quercus dentata	Hills and plains in coastal regions	Nuts
19.	Peroni	Quercus crispula	Hills and mountains	Nuts
	Plants for raw materials:			
20.	Sariki	Phragmites communis		Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*)
21.	Shiki or ki	Miscanthus sacchariflorus		Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing
22.	Shikina	Typha latifolia		Stalks for matting (*toma*)
23.	At-ni	Ulmus laciniata		Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*)
24.	Tat-ni	Betula spp.		Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills
25.	Suruku	Aconitum		Roots for arrow poison
26.	Kap-hai	Laportea bulbifera		Bast fibres for thread
27.	Hu-hai	Celastrus orbiculatus		Bast fibres for fishing-nets

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11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains, in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

[p.69]

VI

SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to re-
824 ligious categories[58]. But they were not content with mere personification of
825 natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They
776 brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world. Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[59].

1. [i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

G SS 276 197 G [554] [321]

/468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439

The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

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A [171] [129]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, P. 99).

A [113]

G 481 /474 cont./

As essential a service as the small ski performs, however, they are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they prevent sinking into the snow only in a very imperfect way, they are not very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they are not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expeditions and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.1015/). Like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as lakk-tschchar, i.e., ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provided

G [824]

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3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99; Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi out of ash wood (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, p. 128).

G 481 [824]

with a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made of sealskin, which, with the hair pointing toward the rear, is pasted as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebone or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of the ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps for

G [237]